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## SPEECH OF HON. C. B. BUCKALEW, OF PENNSYLVANIA, In the Senate of the United States, February 21st 1866.

### APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATION.

Mr. BUCKALEW. I move that the Senate resume the consideration of the joint resolution proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. R. No. 61) proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. BUCKALEW. Mr. President, I shall not speak to-day as a party man, nor as a sectional man, but as an American, as a citizen of the United States anxious to maintain its unity, and to promote, so far as my humble efforts can do it, the welfare of our common country. I have looked forward during the weary months of the recent war to a time when a new class of subjects would arise for our consideration. The discussion of measures of force in the prosecution of the war and the discussion of the various questions connected with the subject of slavery did not provoke me upon any single occasion to address the Senate at length. Returning from a foreign country after the commencement of the war, when it was in full progress, and when no human power could avert the storm which fell upon us, I found myself, as did most of the citizens of our country, absolutely controlled by the circumstances which surrounded us and which pressed us forward upon a course of conduct which we could not avoid. I thought then, and I think now, that there was but one thing to do. We were engaged in a contest which was, as it has been often described, a contest of life and death, and there was nothing to be done except to fight it out, to fight on, to promote or resist the collision of forces which were then arrayed against each other until some ultimate result should be reached.

As a member of the minority in this Chamber, I gave my vote for those measures of the majority which directly pointed to the use of the force of this Government to subjugate the insurrection which raised its head against us. I was opposed to the political policy of that majority, and have continued to entertain and voice that opposition down to this time in a respectful and proper manner. But upon the question of prosecuting the war to a conclusion, I never had any difficulty, I never had any hesitation. Upon an examination of my record—and humble as it may be, even it may be some persons at some time be examined—it will be found that from the time I assumed the seat to which my State had assigned me in this Chamber, my course was such as I have indicated, and was in exact accordance with the convictions that I held.

I thought there was little to be attained by speech-making by a member, even from the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, upon political questions during the war. While the passions of the country were inflamed by the war, reason could not be heard. Logic is thrown away upon the passions. It can only be heard after they have subsided. But, sir, I looked forward to the days through which we are now passing, contemplating a condition of things entirely changed, the coming up of new questions, especially questions connected with economy, with revenue, with finance, with ordinary legislation, with the administration of justice, with the jurisdiction of this Government extends—all those questions which require intelligence, which require investigation, which require labor, the habits of the student. I looked forward to that class of questions, intending to speak upon them on fit and proper occasions, and when, in my opinion, I might contribute something useful to the current of your debates.

But there was one thing which I did not anticipate. I did not anticipate that nearly one year after the termination of the war, one year after the great armies which were arrayed against us had submitted to our power and had capitulated to our forces in the field, nearly a year after open resistance to our authority had terminated, and when in point of fact there was no resistance to the Government of the United States in any portion of our country, yet, in the Congress of the United States, should be discussing the question of whether the war has been won or not, whether our country was, as a democracy, really free, and complete, in unity.

under the Constitution of the United States, no longer broken and severed into parts, but one homogeneous whole, united together by the fundamental law, the Constitution established by our fathers. I did not anticipate the necessity of debating subjects of this description, because I could not foresee either the passions or interests of party which precipitate upon the questions out of which these debates arise. But, sir, these subjects are here, and they are to be met, and it is because with reference to some of these questions I have not heard my own ideas presented by others, that I now trespass upon the attention of the Senate and pray their attention for a brief time.

Among the other subjects which are brought before us by this celebrated committee of fifteen, which seems to have taken charge to a great extent of the affairs of the Government, which seems to have assumed to itself the functions of Congress and the functions also of an advisory body to the Executive—among the other subjects thrown into Congress for the operation of the previous question in the House of Representatives and for the prompt lash of party discipline in the Senate, is the subject of representation in this Government, one that has undergone no consideration, or very slight consideration, from the year 1789, when the Constitution of the United States went into operation, to this day. We have talked about everything else, we have considered everything else except this great subject, because we supposed that representation in this Government had been established upon just and proper foundations by our fathers. We were content with their work. We took it for granted that they had made a proper arrangement in that portion of the Constitution which related to this subject. But the committee of fifteen have introduced to our attention a resolution proposing a limitation upon the representation of the States of this Union in the House of Representatives in all cases where the right of suffrage shall be abridged by such State as to any class of its inhabitants on account of race or color.

The resolution of the committee raises one of the questions which we are now to consider. That resolution had a swift passage through the House of Representatives, but here it has had a somewhat prolonged consideration, and it is well that it has been considered, because as the debate has progressed more and more of opposition to it has been manifested, and more and more plainly have appeared to the Senate and the people of the country who read our debates the imperfections of the plan of amendment proposed by that resolution.

Mr. President, I shall speak to-day upon the subject of representation of States in this Senate, and of the people of States in the House of Representatives; and the particular questions examined will be—

1. The senatorial representation of the eastern States;
2. The present admission of Senators and Representatives from the South;
3. The proposed amendment of the Constitution, limiting representation in the House of Representatives in future.

The provisions of the Constitution of the United States which will come under review in our present inquiry, are the three following; all to be found in the first article:—"The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote."—Section 3, clause 1.

"The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature."—Section 2, clause 1.

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."—Same section, clause 3.

gards to the number of inhabitants it may contain. And by the concluding clause of the fifth article of the Constitution, relating to amendments, it is provided that—"No State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

By referring to the census of 1860, the population of the eastern States is found to be as follows:

### EASTERN STATES.

Maine	628,272
New Hampshire	326,073
Massachusetts	1,231,066
Rhode Island	174,620
Connecticut	480,118
Vermont	315,088
Total	3,135,283

Six States with twelve Senators. Dividing this total of population by the number twelve, will show the number of inhabitants to each Senator upon an equal apportionment according to numbers. The resulting ratio or number for a Senator will be found to be 261,273. In other words, there is one Senator to each 261,273 inhabitants. It requires a little over a quarter of a million persons in the East, (the whole population there being considered in the computation,) for one Senator in this body.

Having thus ascertained the ratio of apportionment for the East let us ascertain what it will be for the other States represented in the Senate and which adhered to our Government during the war. Their population in 1860 was as follows:

### CENTRAL AND WESTERN STATES.

New York	3,850,735
New Jersey	672,035
Pennsylvania	2,906,215
Delaware	112,216
Maryland	687,049
West Virginia	319,694
Ohio	2,359,511
Michigan	749,118
Indiana	1,350,428
Illinois	1,711,951
Kentucky	1,155,681
Missouri	1,182,012
Wisconsin	775,881
Iowa	674,913
Minnesota	172,023
Kansas	107,708
California	379,291
Oregon	52,463
Total	19,259,129

Here are eighteen States with thirty-six Senators, and dividing their whole population by the number thirty-six will show a ratio of one Senator of 534,976. It requires therefore, more than half a million inhabitants to those States for one vote in the Senate.

For the purpose of further comparison let us next turn to the States of the South, which are now unrepresented in Congress. Their population in 1860 was as follows:

### SOUTHERN STATES.

Virginia	1,236,620
North Carolina	892,622
South Carolina	703,708
Georgia	1,057,286
Florida	140,421
Alabama	964,301
Mississippi	791,305
Tennessee	1,109,801
Louisiana	708,002
Arkansas	435,450
Texas	604,515
Total	8,755,634

Here are eleven States with twenty-two Senators, and dividing their total population by twenty-two, there results a ratio or number to each Senator of 397,992. I have deducted from the population of Virginia the population of the forty-eight counties which were, under the name of West Virginia, admitted into the Union as a new State by the act of 31st of December, 1862. The new State, with its proper number of inhabitants, appears in the table of the central States already given, inasmuch as it was represented in the last Congress.

Let us now consolidate these totals of population in the several divisions of the country, as just given, to obtain a common ratio of distribution:

Six eastern States	3,135,283
Eighteen central and western	19,259,129
Eleven southern States	8,755,634
Total	31,149,046

Here are thirty-five States in all, with seventy Senators, and by dividing their total population by the number seventy, we obtain a common ratio for the whole country of 444,972.

We are now prepared for a comparison of eastern representation with that of other sections upon exact data. The Territories, not being represented, are excluded from the calculation, as is also the State of Nevada, which was not represented during the war.

But it is to be remembered that as the new States of the West increase much more rapidly in population than the old Atlantic States, the inequality between the East and the central and western sections is now greater than it was in 1860, when the census was taken.

But upon the figures as now stated, the case will run up as follows:

For eastern States	261,273
Central and western States	534,976
Southern States	397,992
Common ratio	444,972

Deducting the ratio of New England from the common ratio for the whole Union will show a deficient population for the former, upon each Senator allowed her, of no more than 183,699; and multiplying this deficiency upon one Senator by twelve (the whole number of her Senators) will show a total deficiency to the eastern extent of 2,204,388, that is, she has representation in this Senate for nearly two and a quarter

million persons who are actually located in the central and western States.

But, astonishing as these figures are, they do not exhibit the full extent of the inequality which now exists with the South unrepresented. The population of all the States is taken into account to produce the result just stated. But drawing the comparison between her and the central and western States, actually represented here, will show her deficiency in population greater than before by 258,936, or a total deficiency of 2,463,324. These two and a half million people exist. They are not a myth—not imaginary persons—but real breathing men, women and children, in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Missouri. They are found along the Hudson and the Mohawk, by the Susquehanna, the Wabash and the Ohio. And the men among them are a main support of this nation, bearing its industries forward and abiding by its laws. They turn the furrow in the field, or push the plow in the workshop, or smite the anvil in the smithy, or dig fuel from the bowels of the earth, or build great towns and smiling hamlets throughout the great States of the center and the West. Not one of them is found in this Senate. Not a dollar of fishing bounties wrung from an impoverished Treasury ever reached them in its disbursement. They have been content to receive justice rather than favor from Government; their patriotism has been spontaneous, constant and sure, without calculation of immediate advantage, and with no shrewd calculation of future profit or dominion.

When, therefore, the readjustment of representation in this Government is proposed; when Congress and the country are considering propositions of amendment and of change in the basis of political power, I insist that their views and interests shall be taken into account rather than those which exist in a section which has been, heretofore, favored at their expense if not to their injury. But, before suggesting any change in the senatorial representation of the East, or showing the connection which exists between the inequality already described and the question of southern representation in Congress, it will be instructive and useful to illustrate eastern influence in the Government (resulting from her senatorial representation) by some pertinent examples.

That influence is shown in the selection of Presiding Officers of the Senate. For four years from the 4th of March, 1861, an eastern Vice President occupied the chair at the opening of sessions and occasionally afterward, with the power of the casting vote. He was chosen by the people. But the officer who usually presides over our deliberations—the President pro tempore—is selected by the Senate itself, and in selecting him, the power of the East is manifested. All our presiding Officers recently have been from that quarter; in the Thirty-Seventh Congress the Senator from Vermont, [Mr. Foot,] in the Thirty-Eighth Congress the Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. Clark,] and in the present Congress, the Senator from Connecticut, [Mr. Foster.] In brief, the East has held the chair of the Senate during the whole war, and holds it now. A grasp upon it has not been released for a moment, and still continues.

In courses or consultations of the majority, where very often the course of action in open session is determined; where the laws of party discipline are applied to crush out dissent and to overrule individual judgment, it is most evident that the twelve votes from the east must be very potent. But upon this point I must speak with some prudent reserve. The mysteries of the caucus-room are shut off from direct observation; and my curiosity is circumscribed by the limits of the possible. As I cannot know what occurs in those secret consultations I shall not speculate much upon them and shall limit my remarks on this point to the general inference concerning eastern influence which naturally arises.

I pass to another point which is not obscure, the facts of which are open and known, or may be known to all. I mean the constitution of committees, and particularly the selection of their chairmen. The Congressional Directory, just published, shows twenty-three standing committees of the Senate, and three joint ones established in connection with the House. Among them the following have eastern chairmen: Foreign Relations, Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts; Finance, Mr. Fessenden, of Rhode Island; Military Affairs and Militia, Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts; Post Offices and Post Roads, Mr. Dixon, of Connecticut; Claims, Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire; District of Columbia, Mr. Morrill, of Maine; Public Buildings and Grounds, Mr. Foot, of Vermont.

These are all standing committees. Of the three joint committees, that on Printing has for its chairman, Mr. Anthony, of Rhode Island. The general result is, that while the population of the East is less than one-seventh of the population of the States represented in the Senate, she has the chairmanships of one-third of the committees, including the leading ones. The case was still stronger in the last Congress.

I observed, at one time, that of the twenty-eight joint, standing and select committees then organized, fourteen, or one-half the whole number, had New England chairmen. At the same time the great State of New York had one, and my own State a single one—that on Patents. Let us contemplate the figures which apply here for a moment:

Population of eastern States	3,135,283
Population of Pennsylvania	2,906,215
Population of New York	3,850,735

The East, with her three million, had the control of fourteen committees out of the twenty-eight, New York none, and Pennsylvania the Committee on Patents. Well, sir, New York has since been promoted in the senatorial scale. One of her Senators at the present session has been assigned to the head of the Committee on Private Land Claims. I am not sure that that Committee ever meets, but it is displayed in the list of committees in elegant type, doubtless very much to the satisfaction of the good people of the empire State, who are thus honored through their representative.

As to the Committee on Patents, I look upon it with special affection. I have a faint recollection that some bill was reported from it at a former session; but my particular interest in it arises from the fact it was assigned to my State as her particular post of honor during the war. Massachusetts took charge of Foreign Relations, Military Affairs, and Slavery and the Treatment of Freedmen. Post Offices and Post Roads and Public Buildings were in charge of Vermont, Connecticut attended to Pensions and matters in this District, New Hampshire had charge of the Navy and Claims, Maine looked after the Finances, while little Rhode Island burdened herself with the subject of Manufactures and the subject of Public Printing. Thus there was an engrossment by those States of the leadership of most of the committees which commanded effective power, patronage, and influence. But it is refreshing for a man from my own State to reflect that she was not altogether overlooked. Her modest claims received due recognition, and the position then assigned her she yet retains. Sir, whenever the Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. Wilson,] chairman of the committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, shall marshal the Senate Committees in military array as home guard in defense of the Capitol, each with its appropriate organization, there in the midst of that patriotic throng, will be seen the stalwart form of my colleague bearing aloft in proud defiance the banner of the Committee on Patents.

Mr. President, the chairmanship of a committee is a position of much influence and power. The several distinguished gentlemen holding that position have virtual control over the transaction of business, both in committee and in the Senate. Each one has also control of a committee room, and the services of a competent clerk, not only for public business but for conducting private correspondence, and for the various other labors imposed upon a Senator by his station.

I will say here, in view of complaints made in the country, that I consider the employment as clerk of a son or other relative by a chairman as wholly unobjectionable. The relation of clerk and chairman is both confidential and intimate, and hence such clerkship is quite unlike any other office which may be filled by senatorial influence. A President of the United States may very properly employ his son as private secretary, and it has been the practice from the foundation of our Government for our ministers sent abroad, among whom have been the most distinguished and able men of the country, to take their sons with them as secretaries of legation.

The newspaper criticisms which have been directed against the employment of young gentlemen as clerks of committees who are related by ties of family or blood to chairmen, are wholly misapplied. Nepotism, the appointment of relations to office, or the obtaining their appointment by the use of one's official influence, is justly odious, and should always be denounced as of evil example and corruptive tendency. But an appointment to private and confidential service or to duties which involve such service is not within the general objection, and is justified by the opinions and practice of the best of men.

Mr. President, the burden of correspondence and of other business independent of ordinary legislative duties, thrown upon members from populous States is very great. Their time is consumed and their exertions expended upon various matters outside of public business transacted in the Senate. Their time for study and proper legislative labor is thus curtailed, and they are likely to be overworked by the multifarious duties which press upon them.

Now, it is evident that in the last Congress by the distribution of a dozen clerks or more among the twelve New England Senators, they obtained an amount of assistance which removed from them a great part of the labor they would otherwise have borne, and enabled them to set with more efficiency and influence in their high office. But these advantages were not enjoyed by a large part of the members from other States to whom their allowance would have been more reasonable.

I know it may be said that many of the oldest members of the Senate, possessing fitness for chairmanships, are from the East. The same explanation was made in behalf of the South in former years when she was charged with engrossing too many positions of influence here. But the explanation is insufficient in the present case, as it was in the former, and besides it does not meet the main point of my argument, which is that the East is over-represented.

The over-representation of the East, and the consequent undue power in this Senate must be taken into account by any one who would correctly understand past or present

action in Congress and in the Government. In the Thirty-Eighth Congress the Senate consisted of forty-nine members, including one from Virginia. By a resolution adopted by the Senate a quorum of the body for the transaction of business was declared to be a majority of the members from adhering States, in other words, a majority of members elected and admitted to seats.

Memberships from insurgent States was wholly excluded from the computation. Twenty-five members, therefore, constituted a quorum for the transaction of business and thirteen constituted a majority of that quorum. In other words, it was a possible case that a law should be enacted by the twelve eastern votes with a single vote added to them from all the rest of the Union. So markedly had the East approached complete control in this body.

Nevada has since been admitted into the Union, and is represented here by two Senators. A quorum under the resolution just mentioned is therefore at present twenty-five. If Colorado should be admitted as a State and her Senators to seats here, the quorum would be twenty-seven; but whether Colorado be admitted or not, the number of votes required to constitute a majority of the quorum under the existing resolution would be barely fourteen, requiring, to secure it, but two votes to be added to the vote of the East; and yet the whole population of the States represented here!

It would require much more time than is at my command, and much more inclination for the task than I possess, to describe the effect upon the legislation of the country of the predominance of the East. But I will mention two subjects which clearly illustrate it. First, the fishing bounties, or donations of money from the Treasury of the United States to men along our northeastern coast, engaged in the fisheries of the ocean. This money is bestowed under pretense of encouraging the training and making of seamen; and the annual expenditure for the purpose amounts to three or four hundred thousand dollars. The whole amount heretofore expended exceeds twenty-five millions dollars. This is the most questionable of all our appropriations of public money, and it would long since have been stopped—the laws authorizing it swept from the statute-book—if the disbursement were made in any other section of the country except the East. The enormous political power of that section has maintained these bounties in existence, and was found sufficient to maintain them even during the severe financial pressure of the war.

Take, next, the third section of the supplementary conscription act of July 4, 1864, by which the agents of States were authorized to go into the southern country and procure enlistments of men, white or black, to fill their quotas under the conscription laws. It was material to the East to retain her laborers at home to maintain her industrial interests and general prosperity, notwithstanding the war.

Accompanying this measure was another for the payment of liberal bounties by the United States, to meet the outlays of which, the celebrated special five per cent. income tax was imposed. I need not recite the proceedings upon these measures—the debates and votes connected with their passage. The East triumphed throughout. Voiced down or repulsed upon more than one occasion, she rallied her strength, and by persistence secured her objects.

We were only informed upon one occasion that if we did not assent to one of these propositions, the Massachusetts members in the House had determined to defeat, and would defeat, the whole of an important public bill in which it was contained. Of course, the point was conceded and perfect harmony reigned over the concluding hours of a great session.

Very active and energetic efforts in obtaining recruits in other States of the North, negro recruits in the South, and foreign emigrants, enabled the East to fill her quotas without exhausting her laboring population at home, in consequence of which, in connection with the expansion of the currency secured by her votes, the dividends of her manufacturing companies became ample, and her profits in furnishing Government supplies immense.

Her recruitment of southern negroes to fill her quotas was checked the following year by the repeal of the section authorizing it, upon a motion submitted by me. There was a prolonged contest over the question of repeal, but for once there was a sufficient force rallied to overcome the eastern interest. One fact shown in the debate may be again mentioned. No sooner had the news been flashed North by telegraph that General Sherman had captured Savannah, than agents were despatched by Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, to enlist all the negroes that could be obtained at that point. Having done this, he applied to the Secretary of War for permission to his agents to go South and make the enlistments; and the computation of time was made with such exactness that it was believed the permission from the Secretary would reach Savannah precisely at the time when the negroes should be shipped North. Enterprise and astuteness are fine things in times of war as well as in times of peace, and influence with Government opens a fine field for their exercise, as in the case in question.

It might be interesting to go on in this connection and examine the tariff acts and internal revenue laws which have been passed since 1860, and to show that in the

particular arrangements made of duties and taxes the East received more than her due share of consideration and favor. But why multiply proofs that political power will always seek its own ends, and give such direction to Government as shall be, or be thought to be, favorable to its own interest? Look over the whole field of Government policy, whether political, sectional, or economical, and you will discover the marks of eastern power in every part. And by its alliance with, or rather mastery of, a great political party of the North, it is at this moment almost omnipotent in the Government.

Sir, the East controlled the Senate during the war, as she controls it now, and by virtue of that control she has dominated the House of Representatives and influenced powerfully and constantly the Executive department. Her power here has been, in fact, a power over the whole Government, and when considered in its totality has been enormous and irresistible. Necessarily, the action of the House of Representatives has had reference to the action of the Senate whenever the concurrence of the latter in any measure was necessary. Besides, the House is frequently filled with new men, while the Senate, on account of the long duration of senatorial terms, and of frequent re-election of its members, is less subject to change. For this reason, and because of its participation with the President in the distribution of offices and in the formation of treaties, the Senate must possess a larger measure of influence than the House, and must extend more of influence to that body than it receives from it. For the same reasons, and for others equally obvious, the influence of the Senate over the executive branch of the Government (especially when the President is united by party bonds with a Senate majority) must be very considerable. In the case of Mr. Lincoln this influence was an important force in giving direction to executive policy and conduct. He complained sometimes of the "pressure" brought to bear upon him, but sooner or later he always submitted to it, and performed its behests. And unquestionably the same eastern power hopes ultimately to obtain from the present President an equal degree of acquiescence in its present and future demands. It is entrenched here; it grasps firmly the "recepter" of authority, and has no intention to abdicate its functions or surrender any portion of its power. Intrenched, as it believes, firmly and forever within the Constitution as to its senatorial representation, it is unwilling to weaken that representative power by the admission of members from the South. It resists the admission of members even from Colorado and Tennessee, and bases its opposition to increased representation upon grounds which most long continue to exist. And if representation must hereafter be conceded to southern States and to new States, she desires the concession to be made upon condition of negro suffrage. The proteges of her policy, the objects of her long continued agitation of the country, however unfit or unworthy of the elective franchise, are to be endowed with it as her political allies for the future.

Mr. President, it is in human nature that power once held or wielded should be surrendered unwillingly. The individual who has held high office very commonly retires from it with reluctance and under the pressure of some constitutional or popular power which he cannot resist. And thus, also, great sectional or social interests yield power unwillingly, and when compelled to do so bitterly regret the sacrifice. It required the stroke of war to loosen the grasp of the slaveholder upon his slave; he secures his power only when compelled by overwhelming force.

A manufacturing or agricultural population, protected by the most extravagant of tariffs or by the most oppressive of corn laws, will never willingly yield their power over markets and consumers. Political interests stronger than they most wrest from them the advantages which they possess if they are ever to be deprived of their enjoyment.

No one, therefore, need be surprised at the reluctance manifested by the East to surrender any portion of the power which she has held during the war, and now holds in the Government. In this particular she but exhibits another illustration of that characteristic of human nature which I have mentioned, and which, outside the breasts of saints and heroes, is universal.

Twenty-two Senators from the southern States and two from Colorado—being double the number of those from the East—would reduce the importance of the latter in the Senate and render back to the condition in which she stood in her relations to the Union before the war. True, she would even then possess much more than her proportion of weight in the Senate, regard being had to her population, but she would no longer dominate or control the Government of the United States. A balance of power in the Union, utterly broken by secession and war, would be restored, and existing interests in all sections of the country would be heard in Congress, and be regarded in the enactment of laws. And the effects of this change would be felt in the executive and judicial branches of the Government. The principles of the Constitution would awaken to new life. Justice and tolerance would return to the councils of the Government and to the hearts of its people. Public expenditures would be diminished, along with the pretended necessities which now create or excuse them. Trade would revive, production increase, and the public credit be established upon a sure foundation. More than this, we would stand strong before the nations of the earth by being made thoroughly secure against their secret intrigues or open hostility.